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The Drive to Stop Eisenhower—page 9

New Republic

THE TRIAL OF PHILIP JESSUP

The story of McCarthy's latest smear

CONGRESS REFUELS THE AIRLINES

No economizing on subsidies for profits

MEAT—The Coming Black Market

Illegal slaughtering threatens meat supplies

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Letters

Catholicism and Democracy

● The calm and thoughtful letter of Harry M. Leet (*NR*, Sept. 3) evokes some reflections.

About his number-one fear, *censorship*: It is logical to prevent the production and circulation of that which will hurt public morale or morality. The federal government has always recognized the logicality of this principle, for instance concerning the mails. Poison is to be ejected. Whether *The Miracle* comes under this category I do not know. Catholics, like any other group, can be carried too far in their zeal. But what Catholics may do in a given community, even with official approval, need not be generalized into a policy of the Catholic Church. This is a common error among us liberals.

Mr. Leet's second fear, *public funds for Catholic schools*, is not carefully presented. For "Catholic schools" read "private schools" and then limit this to *auxiliary services* and we will begin to think a bit more clearly.

Third fear, *closed system of thought*, is also badly presented. Quotes should never be given from memory. Canon Law is a vast and complicated code and can be properly understood and applied only by the specialist. Catholics "should be instructed so that they learn nothing contrary to the Catholic religion"—a loose statement indeed. The principle, however, which Mr. Leet has in mind is sound: self-preservation of the group. We Americans do not allow our young people to be indoctrinated with Communism in the schools. How intolerant we are not to allow Communism to be taught to them! Dozens of school boards all over the country are dominated by Catholics. If one or another oversteps the mark, logic forbids us to generalize on this and call it a policy of *the Church*. Masons do some, or a lot, of this sort of thing themselves, and I know of two recent cases right here in California. Nothing is ever said of it. But if Catholics slip just once . . . ! But Mr. Leet may well relax and lay aside his fears. Catholic Ireland subsidizes from public funds Protestant schools. Catholic Malta does practically the same, and Mr. Leet can derive comfort in contemplating freedom of religion as practised in any Latin American country. Let him not think of Spain, for Spaniards, according to their own admission, are extremist and difficult to govern.

Finally, Karl Adams is right. All of us should be more Christian.

PETER M. DUNNE, S.J.
San Francisco, Calif.

How to Beat McCarthyism

● The *New Republic* is to be commended for its relentless exposure of the vicious political practices of the . . . Senator from Wisconsin. In your issue of September 17, the name of Joseph R. McCarthy and the term "McCarthyism" appear some 40 times in four separate items. Seventeen such references appear in Mr. Ickes' brilliant philippic. . . .

We cannot have too much of such acutely reasoned and searching exposures of this insidious menace to our political sanity and integrity. . . . The abuse of legislative powers of investigation, the flouting of civil rights and other constitutional safeguards, the usurpation of the functions of legally constituted administrative and judicial authorities, the cynical disregard for the dignity, authority and prerogatives of the highest executive offices, all in the obvious interests of self-serving political ends, have become a far greater and more insidious national menace than the subversive activities which they purport to combat.

Yet it is questionable whether the diffused attacks of such liberal public opinion as yours and the sympathetic response of your readers, however potently conceived, will substantially affect the mass opinion which is habitually misled by such political charlatanism. To reach the heart of this menace would seem to require more concerted and effectively organized measures. They would have to include as their first and minimum objective McCarthy's decisive defeat at the polls in his home state. McCarthyism has indurated our political ethics to such callowness and callousness that its cankerous growth requires the complete excision of its guiding influences from our public life. This end could best, or perhaps could only, be served by a nationwide publicity drive enlisting the support of decent-minded, public-minded voters at large.

I believe that an appeal for funds solicited under the auspices of a national committee composed of appropriately well-known and generally respected members would effectively enlist nationwide response. The name of Harold Ickes as the active head of such an organization forcibly commends itself. To spearhead such a drive and to lead it through a successful non-partisan campaign against the menacing forces of political darkness might well serve as the crowning achievement of a notable public career.

New York City JESSE WEIL

Who Is a Lobbyist?

● Your lead editorial in the issue of August 6, concerning the work of "lobbies" in connection with the new controls bill, is a remarkable collection of theories of "what to do," but in political reality contributes nothing to the subject.

It seems to me that the work of periodicals such as yours should be directed to those solutions which are capable of realization in the field of practical politics. Some eminent political scientists have suggested some far-reaching methods, but how many could be adopted? Some lesser-known people in the field, who have practical suggestions, are ignored.

Drs. Belle Zeller and Edgar Lane had their chance last year, with the creation of the Buchanan committee, headed by the late Rep. Frank Buchanan. The chance was muffed, and there is no denying it. Careful reading of the committee's Interim Report (allegedly written by Lane) shows that the charges made against it by minority members were, in the main, warranted. Testimony given to the committee by political scientists was, in many cases, the type which practising

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Cho-Cho-San Francisco

The gown was of gun-metal gray, with a pink bow in what Mrs. Cafritz described as a "Madame Butterfly effect." She said she chose to wear the Madame Butterfly gown "because it is in keeping with the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty." – *From the Washington* Evening Star.

Let the Chips Fly

Outbreak of global war could, of course, change the [furniture-sales] picture. Wholesale destruction of homes by bombings could lead to an accelerated demand for many years to come. It could also result in destruction of furniture-manufacturing establishments which, in turn, would provide greater work for those spared. – *H. Eugene Dickhuth in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Miscegenating Microbes

The communicable disease report for the week ending September 14 was released today by J. H. Epperson, Health Department superintendent. The report shows one case of white scarlet fever, one white case of measles and two white and two Negro cases of whooping cough. – *From the Durham, N. C.,* Sun.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TWO YEARS AGO this week, President Truman announced that there had been an atomic explosion in Russia. The frightened leaders of the Western world knew that the Soviet Union had solved the nuclear riddle which it was not supposed to solve for three years more. America's security sense of A-bomb monopoly was suddenly exploded. Now Sen. Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), in one of the most important Senate speeches in a generation, has carried the cat-and-mouse spiral around another turn. That old sense of security is returning. American atomic knowledge, he reveals, has proceeded so far, so fast, as to call for a fantastic revolution in military weapons. Fissionable material promises to become so cheap that the prospective atomic shell may cost no more than a modern tank.

Washington immediately asked itself (as it does for most Congressional speeches) was the Senator speaking from knowledge or through his hat? Research at the Pentagon immediately revealed impressive support for McMahon: he was voicing the military view, even though it means dropping the present-type armies and navies down the drain in a few years. The prospect is for an interval in which some of the old sense of A-bomb security may be restored (providing, of course, Moscow will wait for the new weapons).

Moscow's choice comes in Korea. The Chinese can't win without major Russian aid, which might bring on the big war. Failure to give such aid is probably driving a wedge between Peiping and Moscow. Tentative resumption of Kaesong peace talks shows the Communists' desire to liquidate the bloody struggle. A fluid diplomatic policy on our side might still detach Peiping and cancel out Moscow's single biggest victory since World War II. The chances, of course, are slim, but they are altogether nonexistent if Congress treats any attempt by the State Department even to explore the matter as subversive. There is never a better time to carry an olive branch than when you have an A-bomb in the other hand, as Senator McMahon knows.

Congress is hell-bent for home, and it is rather good fun to watch it. It spent nine months haggling over the first $13 billion of the taxpayers' money but will toss out the next $70 billion quick in the fortnight ahead because it wants to quit. Its dreary record shows almost as many investigations (130) as laws passed (140). After beating breasts for "economy" Congress cynically overrode the President's veto last week in order to pour out more millions to the veterans' lobby. There were only nine Senators brave enough to vote against overriding. The session is winding up with an amusing exposure of the conservatives' pretensions in favor of a balanced budget. Conservatives are fighting tooth and nail against the higher taxes necessary to balance it. For generations liberals have been taunted with being "unsound money" men, a characterization which, now the chips are down, seems to apply much more to inflation-bent tories.

Truman's argument that a national chairman of a political party is here to do unpaid favors for friends and that this is ethical and proper won't hold water. It is true that Washington's ambiguous moral climate has permitted such intervention, and both parties have followed it. But it is hypocritical make-believe to pretend that a telephone call from the White House or Democratic GHQ about a loan, an appointment or similar favor isn't "pressure." It is pressure of the strongest kind. No judge would countenance such political telephone-calling about a pending case for a moment. Democratic headquarters, or E. Merl (mink coat) Young, called up the RFC on the Lithofold loan

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almost daily. An ironic feature is that the GOP has been caught in the same game. The probe of Democratic Chairman Boyle is likely to lose GOP Chairman Gabrielson his job. He appears to have been working hard with the RFC for a client of his, the Carthage Hydrocol Company. This may take some of the wind out of the Republican sails. Unfortunately it will also tend to leave the present vicious system just as it is.

Everybody in Washington is debating "whether Ike could beat Truman." At first sight, Ike would seem a certain winner in such a Presidential race. A lot of correspondents are not so sure, however. They argue: "It's hard to unseat an Administration in time of prosperity; Democrats have been increasing their relative proportion to Republicans for 50 years and now outnumber them; Truman is a tough campaigner and won in '48, despite the loss of New York, because of the left-wing, and four Southern states because of the right. Also, Ike would have to come out of the clouds and take positive stands on issues with accompanying loss of his military glamor role." Whatever the accuracy of the foregoing, Truman has never acted more confident than now.

Organized labor faces its worst threat in years from Mexican "wetbacks" now pouring illegally over the border. They are undercutting wages and hours worse than old-fashioned "scabs" because they have no legal rights and are wholly at the mercy of employers. A half million wetbacks were apprehended and sent back last year, and it is assumed as many more got in. Wetbacks are invading such Northern cities as Chicago, Detroit and New York. Congress will do little or nothing about this problem for the simple reason that it primarily favors the employer interest, and this means lower wages and longer hours for US workers and fatter profits for influential constituents. In signing the emasculated Ellender-Poage bill regulating Mexican immigration Truman implored Congress for quick action on a stronger law. Without the strongest pressure from trade unions Congress won't do anything.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

politicians use to belabor "intellectuals."

A few pointed questions will help here. First, when you, and Drs. Zeller and Lane say "lobby," what do you mean? Reading of Buchanan committee hearings and reports will show you that there is no workable definition. The committee found itself bogged down in the whole field of public opinion, and the influences thereon. If you dig into the subject, I'm sure you'll find there is no workable definition, short of one which would include all in the country who express any sort of opinions on public questions. In short, a heavy-handed registration law is hardly the answer. The people who propose it are the same people who profess to be able to differentiate between "good" and "bad" lobbies. Again, does Dr. George Galloway think it possible to prescribe the rules under which the NAM shall be organized? Hardly.

Let me suggest a simple maxim: "First things first." Thomas K. Bailey (*Congress Makes a Law*) and James M. Burns (*Congress on Trial*) have pointed the way toward corrections in the present situation, dominated as it is by "producer" interests. It is a simple fact that Congressional districts are, at present, malapportioned. Representative Celler has attempted to change this, and nobody rallies to his aid. Meanwhile, the situation continues to work to the consumers' distress.

In a search for solutions, please try to equate them with what a Congress would pass. The enforcement agency necessary to handle an effective lobby-registration law would be tremendous; so would the regulations necessary to define the "lobbies." Does anyone really think Congress would push such a law . . . ?

Columbus, Ohio F. C. THAYER JR.

For Better Radio and TV

In the *New Republic* of September 3, Saul Carson suggested that readers interest themselves in the newly formed National Association for Better Radio and Television and asked that they name organizations they would like to see represented on NAF-BRAT. Among the organizations suggested by readers were: National Association of Educational Broadcasters; all state college and university radio and TV stations (non-commercial); the CIO; the AFL; Americans for Democratic Action; National Education Association; Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; American Society of Friends; American Federation of Teachers; League of Women Voters; Parent-Teacher Associations (national, state and local); American Association of University Professors; American Association of University Women; College English associations (national, Southeastern, and Southern Regional). Further comments from readers are summarized below. — THE EDITORS.

● . . . Very much interested in the possibilities of NAF-BRAT, although I am so disgusted with radio. . . . No religious organizations should be represented . . . or the DAR.

Columbia, S. C. THEODORE T. TAFFERTY

● I'd like to see the American Society of Friends represented (I'm a Presbyterian).

Chicago GERTRUDE HILL

● Anything to stimulate improved radio and TV arouses my interest. . . . This is to lend encouragement.

Fairfield, Iowa JOHN H. MABRY

● . . . Cheers for your column. Thanks for not pulling the punches.

MRS. ETHEL MAE BLACK

Sacramento, Calif.

● . . . Have enjoyed your radio and TV commentaries for several years and I agree completely. I feel that educational radio has been neglected.

Marion, Ill. DAVID FRIES

● I like your enthusiasm for NAF-BRAT. God knows it is desperately needed.

Atlanta, Ga. EDWARD FOSTER

● Please enroll my name in the cause of better radio and TV [but] I'm fearful of the use of organizations as being a "hair of the dog."

Auburndale, Mass. J. F. WEATHERLY

● . . . I do not have television and am practically beyond reach of anything in radio worth listening to, except when CBM of Montreal can be heard. Usually it is drowned out by local commercials, and in general I have no use of radio except for news and weather. It is sickening that such facilities are being wasted for education. If anything is being done about it, I wish to have a share in the effort.

Waterbury, Vt. DR. GRACE H. KENT

● . . . Thank you for all you are doing to bring better listening.

Boston, Mass. W. Q. MAXWELL

He Likes Ickes

● Harold L. Ickes' articles are tops.

Baltimore, Md. L. W. MARTIN

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VOLUME 125, NUMBER 14, ISSUE 1922, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 1, 1951 **New Republic**

THE TRIAL OF PHILIP JESSUP

ON NOVEMBER 6 the United Nations Assembly will open in Paris. In the heat of its debates, one American diplomat alone has the skill and experience to master the Soviet delegates. "Until he met Jessup," *Newsweek* quotes a UN veteran, "Vishinsky was a matador playing with steers." But if Senators Joseph McCarthy and Pat McCarran have their way, Philip Jessup will not be there.

Jessup's name is up for confirmation by the Senate as a US delegate to the UN. McCarthy must get Jessup if he is to win renomination in Wisconsin and move on in his ambition to become President. Under the coaching of Alfred Kohlberg, head of the China Lobby, McCarthy has centered on Jessup his attacks, described by the State Department as "quarter-truths, half-truths or untruths."

"Was the documented proof that Jessup had editorial control of the publication of a Communist front a quarter-truth, a half-truth or an untruth?" McCarthy now asks. Answer: *an untruth.*

McCarthy's charge is that Jessup edited the *Far Eastern Survey* of the Institute of Pacific Relations "while it was spewing forth the perfumed Communist Party line sewage." The truth is that Jessup did not edit the *Survey*, and that the IPR has not been listed as a Communist front. Kohlberg claimed that the *Survey* published articles sympathetic to Communist views. His charges were shown to relate to two percent of the *Survey's* articles and .002 percent of the books published by the IPR.

"Are the documents showing Jessup's affiliation with five organizations officially named as fronts for the Communist Party quarter-truths, half-truths or untruths?" McCarthy demands to know. Answer: *untruths.*

McCarthy stated: "I have presented to the committee photostats showing that Jessup belonged . . . to five Communist-front organizations." The counsel of the Senate committee answered, "After a careful and diligent search of our files we find no record of any material having been turned over by Senator McCarthy."

McCarthy eventually identified six "fronts" to which Jessup was "affiliated."

The *American Council of the IPR*—never listed by the Attorney General or the Un-American Activities Committee;

The *American Law Students' Association*—never listed as a front by any organization; it was for a time affiliated with the American Youth Congress, as were the Young Democrats and the YMCA;

The *China Aid Council*—into which Jessup's wife, not Jessup, was drawn momentarily as a Quaker, through work on a predecessor organization sponsored by Madame Chiang Kai-shek;

The *American Russian Institute* of which Jessup was never a member, a sponsor nor an officer; two dinners of the Institute, honoring Roosevelt and discussing postwar problems, were sponsored by Jessup and 375 other leading Americans in wartime, four years before the Institute was branded;

The *Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo* which reproduced in a pamphlet, along with 30 other letters, a letter from Jessup to the New York *Times* opposing the embargo on isolationist grounds; Jessup never belonged to the committee. McCarthy reproduced a false copy of the pamphlet in which, by hacking out other pages, he made it appear that Jessup's letter was cited alone;

The *National Emergency Conference*, later merged with the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, one of whose meetings Jessup supported in signing a call along with progressives, liberals, fellow travelers and conservatives such as Virginius Dabney.

McCarthy, by wedging Jessup's name between those of two known Communists, clearly implied in a Senate speech on June 6 that he was part of an organized Communist conspiracy. This, of course, is one more lie. Jessup in truth was a prewar isolationist; a member of the America First Committee, who at Taft's request wrote the Senate a letter opposing Roosevelt's policies on isolationist grounds long after Hitler had invaded Russia.

"No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism," General Eisenhower wrote to Jessup this spring. McCarthy had reached a dead end in his effort to destroy Jessup when McCarran came to his rescue. By feeding snippets from selected letters seized from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations,

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McCarran is attempting to drive home the fatal knife.

The case against the IPR is well established. Certain Communists infiltrated its staff. Frederick Field contributed $6,000 in three years to its budget. This sum, by which McCarran and McCarthy insist the Communist Party "bought and paid for" the IPR, was in fact two percent of its budget. The remainder was financed by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, and by large corporations at the urging of the IPR's finance chairmen Juan Trippe and Henry Luce. Battered and bleeding, the IPR remains the best source of research and information on Asia and part of the only international framework in which disinterested scholars devoted to Asian problems can meet.

On this issue the Senators may have to stand up and be counted for or against McCarthyism. To brand an Ambassador-at-Large of the US as a liar and a traitor unworthy to attend the UN is, they realize, a grave act. Yet the ghost of Senator Tydings floats over the Senate. Already a Senator reports there has been "much jockeying" among Senators to get off the subcommittee which must make the initial recommendation. If cowardice triumphs, the Senators may decide with much righteousness to defer judgment "until all the facts are in." That will be a triumph for McCarthyism which presents no facts and scores by insinuation. The Senate should stand with Utica Post #229 of the American Legion which declared in defending Jessup that "McCarthy's reckless and despicable conduct in this instance cannot be condoned by any right-thinking American."

THE WEEK

RENT RECONTROL

The Critical Areas Committee of the Defense Production Administration is finally getting down to work. Federal rent control has been imposed on six of the 42 areas certified as "critical for defense housing."

Brazoria County, Tex., where the Dow Company operates chemical and magnesium plants, the DPA estimates, "will require at least 2,500 workers from the outside to meet mobilization requirements." The area was taken from under rent control by the state legislature in 1949. Sleeping rooms for single persons rent mostly from $10 to $14 per week. A minimum shortage of 1,000 housing units is indicated by June, 1952.

Borger, Tex., where firms are producing vital defense materials including high octane gasoline, raw synthetic rubber and carbon black, the DPA says, will need 500 more workers by 1952.

San Diego, Calif., with 27,000 workers employed in aircraft industries and 6,100 in shipbuilding, has an added influx of military personnel. The DPA estimates that more than 8,000 housing units are needed for defense workers and military personnel.

Similar conditions were found to exist in Idaho Falls, Idaho, and in the Savannah River area of Georgia and South Carolina, where atomic-energy plants are being constructed.

So far, the Critical Areas Committee has ignored the detailed report of the Senate Preparedness Committee which revealed the sordid housing conditions around our large army installations. The committee, which has stalled an unnecessary length of time, should look into the numerous requests made by base commanders to alleviate the slum conditions and rent gouging forced upon servicemen and their families.

THE WALLACE REPORT

After Philip Jessup and Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent has been a principal target of the China Lobby. Vincent, exiled in effect at Tangier, and barred from any diplomatic post requiring Senate confirmation, was denounced by Louis Budenz as one known to him as a Communist Party member.

Budenz charged that as a leading Communist Vincent was assigned to accompany Henry Wallace on his 1944 Far Eastern trip. Now publication of Wallace's report reveals that Wallace, with Vincent's concurrence, recommended the replacement of General Stilwell by General Wedemeyer, as one who was "persona grata to Chiang." All his recommendations, Wallace points out, "were the opposite of pro-Communist."

Wallace arrived in China to find the best generals dismissed and Western sympathizers like T. V. Soong under house arrest. "It is five minutes to midnight," Soong warned him. To save the regime Wallace recommended that Roosevelt back with US power "the progressive bankers, commercial leaders . . . Western-trained men . . . and generals not subservient to the landlords nor afraid of the peasantry." The right approach he agreed would force the frightened Chiang to make vital internal reforms. Some but not enough of his recommendations were carried out.

Wallace notes now that his views in 1944 were sound. He indicates support of Truman. His report substantiates the grave and important charge of Joseph Alsop that Budenz perjured himself before the Senate committee in accusing Vincent and that that committee, presided over by Pat McCarran, is guilty of subornation.

THE PRODIGAL RETURNS

With four weeks to go before the General Election, the British Labour Party is presenting a common front. Aneurin Bevan is back, turning his invective on to tory heads. Morgan Phillip, the Party secretary, boasts of one team. The Scarborough Conference which was to have fought out socialist

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attitudes toward rearmament will instead whip up enthusiasm for catch-all slogans. If the faithful are inspired by this show of unity, middle-class voters may be alienated by Bevan's return. In any case, the housewife will cast the deciding vote on the basis of more immediate considerations and resentments.

If overconfidence does not play the same trick on Churchill that it played on Dewey, the Conservatives seem likely to earn the doubtful privilege of inheriting responsibility for a steadily worsening economic situation. What new spirit they can bring to the government will be more than offset if the trade unions, pressed by their Communist wing, tear the lid off the wage ceilings that their own leaders were able to enforce as government officials. Wisely the *Evening Standard* is advising the tories to make no election promises.

DISLOYAL—YES OR NO?

In the Senate Office Building the hearings of the McCarran Subversive Activities Committee which aim to trace down the subtle, "disloyal" influences which led to the failure of our China policy, drone quietly on. In the conservative press, notably the New York *Times* and *Time* magazine, the hearings have been acclaimed as something of a model of dignified and fair procedure. And indeed the Senator from Nevada is punctilious about admitting evidence. It has gotten to be rote procedure from him to interrupt his eager document-reading assistants with a parental note of restraint. "Now wait a minute," he says. "What is this? Where's it come from? What's the subject?" The information supplied, the proceedings continue.

But those who have critically examined the material and testimony have charged—as has columnist Joseph Alsop—that the committee persistently encourages its witnesses to stretch a point when convenient, even if it means self-contradiction. This suggestion was more than borne out for anyone attending the committee session which heard Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, wartime US commander of the China theatre. Wedemeyer has consistently gone on record as opposed to all US attempts to come to any agreement with the Chinese Communists. However, the General, it appeared, considered himself an honest conservative, with an aversion for smear methods.

It was an interesting process through which Wedemeyer, by the end of the morning, had become almost a defender of the men—John S. Service, John C. Vincent and John Davies—whose ideas he opposed and whom he had been expected to denounce. A clean-cut, almost boyish-looking figure, Wedemeyer was careful to give background and qualify his statements. His remarks were prefaced by "in my opinion." He frankly admitted that "I neglected to give the attention I should have to their reports when I was out there. . . . I was amiss in this," and pleaded preoccupation with military affairs.

But, the committee counsel continued to press him. Didn't certain sections of Davies' and Service's reports "imply" and "suggest" policies favoring the Communists? The General found it necessary to say that one of the statements cited "was made at a time when a lot of people in our country were making similar statements. . . . But today they're on the opposing bandwagon, opposing Communism." "But," Sen. Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) persisted, "wasn't he [Service] trying to say that we should go along with the Russian interests rather than our own?"

Ferguson seemed omniscient about what Wedemeyer was trying to say. At one point the General had caused an embarrassed silence when, in response to a question as to what was "implicit in the language of one of the reports," he said: "I think there's always a danger in trying to read something into a statement." . . .

"We don't intend to . . . " quickly said committee counsel Robert Morris.

"I know you don't," said the General. "But if you want to know what the man meant, why don't you ask the man who wrote it?"

But Ferguson persisted. Wasn't there an "implicit" sympathy for the Communists in the report?

The General gagged. "I'm not going to answer 'yes' or 'no' and militate against my entire testimony here." He would have to go into it fully, and he did—for 10 minutes. "In considering any problem in China," he concluded, "all these factors must be considered."

He did not regard the reports as "disloyal." " . . . These men were loyal to me. . . . I didn't agree with them, but they were bright, alert and knew the Chinese leaders. . . . I didn't get a chance to analyze their reports then."

But Ferguson persisted: "As you look at it *now*, do you think they were disloyal to the US Government?"

"I couldn't answer that," replied the General. "I would hesitate to call any man disloyal unless I had a chance really to look into the case."

OLD TORIES NEVER DIE

Sen. Karl Mundt (R, S. Dak.) has announced the creation of an embryo Dixiecrat-GOP unity group calling itself the Bipartisan Committee to Explore Political Realinement (sic). Founded during an unpublicized week-end conference at a Washington hotel, the BCEPR did not attract many active politicians. In addition to Mundt, only Taft-man Owen Brewster (R, Maine) was identified as participating, although Mundt said there were a dozen Congressmen who attended but did not want the fact publicized. The new group is dedicated to bringing together all those who oppose "socialistic legislation" and "bureaucratic tyranny."

Judging from the group's executive members, its crusade may not be too virile. They are all retired political figures who have been fading away over various periods of time: Edward R. Burke, 70, an isolationist Democratic ex-Senator from Nebraska who was defeated in 1940; Donald J. Cowling, 70, a member of the National Republican Program Committee from 1927 to 1940; Charles Edison, 61, former Democratic Governor of New Jersey; Horace A. Hildreth, 49, the group's youngest member, who retired from the Maine governorship to a college presidency; Albert W. Hawkes, 72, former New Jersey Senator and Chamber of Commerce president; and Donald Richberg, 70, renegade New Dealer out of public life since the 1930s.

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ALL QUIET IN THE AFL

SURFACE UNITY was the keynote of the American Federation of Labor's seventieth annual convention, emphasized by the almost overwhelming eagerness of the 700 delegates to accept the decisions of the AFL's high echelons.

Rumblings of dissatisfaction over federation withdrawal from the United Labor Policy Committee have disappeared. "Organic unity" with the CIO isn't being discussed openly until a program is presented by the AFL executive council for convention action.

Here and there, scratches have appeared on the polished surface:

Arnold S. Zander, the president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, tells the convention his people are tired of being raided by rival AFL unions;

The Culinary Workers and Bartenders Union, fourth largest in the AFL with 460,000 members, has boycotted the convention for the second successive year. It has also cut its per-capita tax payments to the AFL to cover less than half its members;

Fighting authorization of a separate international union charter for the Hosiery Workers Federation, the United Textile Workers has distributed a pamphlet to each delegate asking, "Is the AFL constitution worth the paper it's written on?"

Yet these are only scratches, not marring the good will which covers the federation as a whole.

One of the signposts of this is the delegates' attitude toward the United Labor Policy Committee. Reports that some opposition had developed proved to be unfounded.

"There's no sense in anyone opposing the split," said Al Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists. "Most of us would go along with the executive council action.

"And in addition, anything said on the convention floor against the move would be seized on and exploited by the CIO. Besides, the breach can't be healed now after the way it was exploited by the CIO when it happened."

Despite the feeling about the ULPC, AFL officials appear sincerely anxious for "organic unity" with the CIO. They carefully point out that they want a "blending of the two organizations, not the CIO joining the AFL." George Meany, the AFL secretary-treasurer, adds that the blending probably will occur after jurisdictional matters and other details are ironed out.

The undercurrent of the entire convention has been political action. The necessity for political action was sounded in pre-convention meetings of the AFL departments, in the keynote speech of Green, and at each session.

The administrative committee of the AFL's political action arm, Labor's League for Political Education, issued a statement emphasizing the need to get more labor members registered to vote.

Along with the intensified voter-registration drive, suggestions have been made for a harder punching publicity campaign. The program also includes lowering the $2 voluntary contribution per member to LLPE to $1.

The $1 contribution, the same as that of the CIO-PAC, is expected to get more AFLers to participate in the political action program. James L. McDevitt, who was named this week to replace Joseph D. Keenan as LLPE director, said he expects the lower contribution to bring at least $4 million to the AFL coffers.

McDevitt also said he believed local-level working relationships between the LLPE and PAC groups would continue "where these have proved successful." He warned, however, that the AFL organization isn't going "down the line" with any particular political party. "We've never been tied to any one party," he said.

Drew Pearson's report that a few top AFL leaders were planning to ditch support of President Truman and throw their weight to the Republican Party in return for amendments to the Taft-Hartley law was published when the convention was halfway along. Dave Beck, executive vice-president of the AFL Teamsters Union and one of those mentioned as active in the plan, denounced the story as "the titillating musings of somebody's feeble mind."

"Sure, I'd support a Republican like Wayne Morse, but not one like Taft," cried Beck, "any more than I'd support a Democrat like Byrd. Show me the candidates and I'll tell you who I'll support."

One break in convention harmony came on the opening day when Zander, president of the State, County and Municipal Workers International Union, took the floor to deny that he planned to take his organization into the CIO.

Zander, however, told the convention that members of the union were "sick and tired" of raids by rival organizations, notably the Teamsters that have robbed him of 10,000 members. He said it is "up to the members" to decide what to do.

Unlike the troubled Zander, Beck is moving ahead into new fields. The longshoremen of the West Coast, open game since the expulsion of Harry Bridges and his union from the CIO, are Beck's new objective. Bridges, along with other left-wing union leaders expelled from the CIO, has been attempting to build his defenses in a new federation led by John L. Lewis. He has not yet succeeded and meanwhile Beck has joined Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific in a San Francisco waterfront drive. Their objective is to drive Bridges off the waterfront and out of the warehouses. The first move will be an attempt to swing Bridges' warehousemen into the Teamsters. The next target will be the marine cooks and stewards whom Lundeberg hopes to take from the left-wing union led by Hugh Bryson of the Progressive Party. At the same time Joe Ryan's International Longshoremen's Association is going after Bridges' 16,000 longshoremen. Harry Hasselgren, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-ILA, endorsed the drive of Beck and Lundeberg "100 percent" and told well-satisfied delegates that he has organizers working on the West Coast waterfront "right now."

San Francisco HOWARD LIPTON

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THE DRIVE TO STOP EISENHOWER

A WELL-LAID scheme to lock and bolt the door against Gen. Dwight Eisenhower is being pursued by the backers of Sen. Robert Taft. One of its master minds is Sen. Owen Brewster of Maine.

The plan is to scare off Ike, to blacken his character with the rank-and-file leaders of the GOP, and to convince delegates he will not run for President.

This campaign, like all of Brewster's efforts, is being conducted in a stealthy and clandestine manner. However, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith lifted the lid in a statewide broadcast to Maine voters. She revealed that the Republican state chairman, Ralph Masterman, a political ally of Brewster, had mailed to members of the state committee a pamphlet she described as "political trash" throwing mud on the General. Mrs. Smith added, "General Eisenhower has become one of the top targets for political smears by some who fear the Republicans might nominate him for President. The pamphlet is apparently financed with plenty of money for it is obviously a most expensive sheet."

The smear is an elaborate, slick-paper, two-color illustrated pamphlet mailed out by the thousands by an obscure splinter group, the Partisan Republicans of California.

Republican National Chairman Guy Gabrielson, questioned by Senator Smith, replied this outfit had no standing and said in shocked surprise, "Do you mean this was mailed by the Maine state chairman? Why, that is incredible!"

It is interesting to note that Masterman mailed the pamphlets after a meeting of the state committee July 6 at Senator Brewster's home in Dexter. In a letter accompanying this pamphlet and others, including Walter Trohan's vicious attack on former Defense Secretary George Marshall, Masterman wrote: "I trust that every member of the state committee will read with care the documents herein enclosed, and while I know that no one of the committee needs to have any encouragement from me regarding activity in politics, I must say that in my opinion a perusal of these documents will convince anyone of the low state of politics in these United States."

The smear of Ike is headed "Dwight Eisenhower, New Deal Stooge" and includes a crude cartoon of his receiving a big hammer-and-sickle medal from Josef Stalin. The first sentence says categorically, "Eisenhower is not a Republican" and then proceeds by a tactic well known to readers of Joe McCarthy to insist he is a Communist follower and Russia-lover who "joined the Soviet murderers in their plot against free nations . . . who now is part of a plot to dissipate American strength." Some of the charges made in this "political trash" have shown up at various times in Hearst and Chicago *Tribune* stories.

The pamphlet or "document," as Masterman would have it, pays special tribute to Senators Taft, McCarthy and Bill Jenner of Indiana. It tries to soil the records of Gov. Earl Warren of California, Governor Dewey, Harold Stassen, and Senators Smith, James Duff and Wayne Morse. They are called "Republican renegades who will lend their support to this New Deal-Communist plot to "capture the Republican Party from within."

This pamphlet has been mailed to officials and newspaper and radio correspondents listed in the *Congressional Directory*, as well as to key Republicans throughout the nation. It was distributed secretively at the Republican leaders' meeting at Tulsa. Those who distribute it have a considerable amount of money, as well as access to the names of GOP committeemen.

The effect of this smear is to tell General Eisenhower, "If you get in the race, it will be dirty. We have plenty of mud balls." Eisenhower has a natural horror of mudslinging in fighting politics. Senator Brewster hopes that the "Partisan Republicans" attack will persuade him to let the nomination go.

Senator Brewster has been spreading further whispers in the Senate cloakrooms. Upon his return from Europe where he saw the General, Brewster commented solemnly, "Eisenhower is in bad health. Looks terrible. He would never live to be President." This observation, never attributed to Brewster, has appeared in columns and is denied completely by the General's friends.

General MacArthur is another conscious ally in the Brewster campaign. MacArthur, who hopes to win the nomination for himself, has made a point in recent speeches of attacking "civilian *and military* leaders" identified with what die-hard Republicans like to denounce as the appeasement of the Roosevelt years.

An even more significant statement is being spread by Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, the protégé of the Chicago *Tribune*. Dirksen is the dark-horse Republican candidate who, it is said, has been promised Taft's delegate strength if he fails to win the nomination. Dirksen says that Eisenhower is not a Republican. This is a telling argument used against him by the Taft salesmen. They tell the local politicians, "If you string along with Eisenhower, you'll be left holding the bag. He is not a Republican and actually has a secret agreement with Truman. We know this. If you don't come along with Taft now and forget this Eisenhower foolishness, we'll give the patronage to your rival across the street. He'll name the postmaster and district attorney and the RFC district manager if you don't sign on the dotted line now." This is potent medicine, for the nightmare of every county chairman is to be left with a candidate who is scratched at the last minute.

The effect of this campaign has been to raise that little edge of doubt that could wreck the Eisenhower boom.

TRIS COFFIN

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Outside America

THE SEAMY SIDE OF NATO

Squadrons of the British, Italian and American fleets in the Mediterranean have just carried out mine-sweeping maneuvers off the Southern and Western coasts of Sicily. And a sentence in the *communiqué* issued by the British Admiralty at the conclusion of the operations went a long way toward explaining why they had been conducted with unusual smoothness and success: "From the international point of view, no difficulties were encountered."

Unfortunately the sentence cannot accurately be applied to the results of the efforts to achieve effective military organization on an international scale in the part of the world of which the waters off this ancient citadel of the Spartans—these lines are being written in Syracuse—are a small but important part. Not only haven't old political mines been swept away; new ones have been planted.

Moreover, there is a major difference between those that exist here and the ones that lay in the path of the negotiators at San Francisco. The threats to the achievement of close co-operation among the Western Powers in the Far East arise for the most part from the Cold War. The Soviet Union and Communist China are largely responsible for them. But Soviet power is far away from the Mediterranean. And the political booby traps that lie about in the vast area that includes not only the Mediterranean but much of Africa and the Middle East have been set for the most part in the course of old—and also new—quarrels among the Western Powers themselves.

From the viewpoint of this city on the shore of the sea which Benito Mussolini had the presumption to call *mare nostrum*, once a port for an Italian African "empire" that no longer exists, it is not the squabbling over place and prestige between the British and American admirals that seems to prevent long-term international co-operation. The Italians recognize a less obvious (in America) but not less serious obstacle to the integration of this great and vital area with the defensive pattern of the NATO and of SHAPE. That is the fear in France that her role and interests are being deliberately sacrificed or at least crushingly subordinated to a new doctrine of Anglo-Saxon—largely British—expediency.

As a matter of fact the Italians are still too close to the anti-British influence of Fascism to believe that the doctrine is new. They have long given full credence (and the reactionary neo-Fascist press of Southern Italy has helped them) to the tale that Winston Churchill secretly wrote to Mussolini in 1940 promising him to take Corsica from a "rotten" France and to give it to a "virile" Italy if that Italy gave proof of her virility by refraining from becoming a military ally of Adolf Hitler. Many Italians have also seen the text of a message presumably sent from the Duke of Alba in London in October, 1941, to Francisco Franco in Madrid, quoting Churchill as promising to give Spain chunks of French North Africa and to make Spain the dominant power in the Mediterranean—at the expense both of France and Italy—if the Caudillo would agree not to give any military help whatsoever to Hitler.

The Italians recognize that both offers —if they really were made—were not part of the old pattern of cynical and ruthless British imperialism; they were desperate efforts to help save Britain and the free world. Britain of today, despite her losses, is a major pillar of strength of the free world. But the Italians, not quite resigned to becoming a very minor one, look across the Mediterranean to their lost empire and see—or think they do—the British in the process of trying to build in Africa, at the expense of France, some sort of equivalent of what is crumbling in the Middle East.

The French of course see the process even more clearly, and men like Edouard Daladier (who signed the Munich Pact) accuse the British of helping the Arab League and Spain's Franco—who as self-styled Protector of Islam has been working secretly with the League to foment trouble in Tunis and Morocco. The fact that the French are clinging desperately to old-fashioned imperialism in North Africa is brushed aside as irrelevant. What concerns them is that the British, using the Arabs and Spaniards as their foils and American strategic interests as their "cover," may drive them out of Africa as they were driven out of the Middle East.

What causes trouble in the relations between France and Britain in the Mediterranean is the kind of activity now said to be going on in the former Italian colony in Libya. The late Ernest Bevin's policy of friendship for the Arab League has in fact been greatly modified by Herbert Morrison. Reports that Morrison had received with courtesy, even sympathy, visits in London from leaders of the local Arab anti-French nationalist movements in North Africa were denied.

Nevertheless, there has been no convincing repudiation of the story current here that the British in Libya are giving aid and comfort to Arab League anti-French agitators who have organized an "action center." Most of the British officials—there are about 5,000 altogether—are veterans of the Palestine Mandate and of Jordan. They are said to sponsor the creation of a new Arab Legion under soldiers trained by Glubb Pasha in Jordan.

The story may be untrue—or at least exaggerated. But it is believed in Sicily and Southern Italy, especially among those former or neo-Fascists who hope that the actions of the British in Libya (even if in conflict with British policy in London) will undermine the old French empire in North Africa and pave the way for a new Fascist-Arab League-Spanish empire in which the Italians may one day participate. And even if the hope is fantastic, the murky situation in Libya will, until it is cleared up, remain a political land-mine threatening effective co-operation from the international point of view in the Mediterranean.

Syracuse, Sicily PERCY WINNER

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CONGRESS REFUELS THE AIRLINES

by Harry Conn

IN THE LATE afternoon of September 19, the Senate of the United States, after approving some amendments and rejecting others, passed S436, known as a bill "to provide for the separation of subsidy from airmail pay and for other purposes." The bill was passed by a voice vote.

The purpose of S436 was to promote efficiency and economy in government by bringing the airline subsidy out into the open. Its terms were highly technical and a technical debate took place on the floor of the Senate. There was little of the dramatic to grab the headlines of the daily newspapers. In fact, although the bill meant millions of dollars to the American taxpayers, papers such as the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post* failed to carry a single line on its passage.

The real drama of S436 took place far from the Senate chamber. Some of it took place in private homes, in cloakrooms, in hotels, in the Senate Office Building, in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, Leslie Biffle, where a tremendous airline lobby, paid for by taxpayers, fought to increase the taxpayers burdens through higher subsidies.

The House, through the excellent work of Representatives John Kennedy and John Heselton, both of Massachusetts, secured an excellent separation bill during the 81st Congress, which died when the Senate took no action.

On January 11, Sen. Edwin Johnson (D, Col.) introduced the original version of S436 and it was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which Senator Johnson is chairman.

The bill, as finally amended in committee and reported out on August 9, was considered an effective bill for separating domestic airmail pay from the subsidy if an acceptable standard cost were effectively established and properly administered by the Civil Aeronautics Board. It was optimistically estimated that the potential savings under the domestic sections of the bill was in the neighborhood of $34 million.

The foreign airmail section was written in executive sessions with the public and press excluded and representatives of Pan American, TWA and the Air Transport Association as invited guests. It was estimated that savings to the Post Office would be at most $23 million but would leave a deficit of at least $30 million. This was due largely to the fact that airmail rates on US international flagships, in effect, would be tied to the highest rates charged by foreign flag airlines, and not to the costs of services actually rendered. The Universal Postal Union, to which the US belongs, has established a maximum rate of $2.86 a ton mile and foreign governments quote the maximum. In contrast, passengers are charged the equivalent of 70 cents a ton mile.

An editorial in the Baltimore *Sun*, September 16, colorfully illustrates this problem:

> A young lady boards a trans-Atlantic plane bound from New York to Paris. She holds the stub of a ticket for which she paid $394.60 one way. Settling back in the comfortable seat, she expects her money's worth. And she gets it. There's good food, champagne on some flights and perhaps even a sample bottle of Parisian perfume.
>
> Riding beneath the young lady is another passenger also bound for Paris. But this passenger rides in a dark cavernous section of the plane, jostled to and fro by other passengers. No comfort, no champagne and no perfume. And why should there be? After all this passenger is only a humble sack of mail. But there's nothing humble about its fare, $1,578. And who foots the bill? Uncle Sam.

Another provision which appeared to be an outright gift to the subsidized carriers was the 10-year period of subsidy "without reduction" under the act.

The most significant fact about this bill is that the largest US airlines, who have been getting about 55 percent of all US mail payments, would not lose much of their current mail revenues and that most of the savings to the Post Office would come out of the smaller mail carriers, the regional lines and the feeder aircraft.

The major lines threw countless lobbyists into this fight. The doors of certain Senators were open to them at all times. Under cover of helping the small feeder lines the lobbyists backed the McCarran amendment to give long-term subsidy contracts to all mail lines including the Big Four.

Just one young and harassed man contested the combined efforts of Pan American Airlines and their associates. He was Langdon Marvin Jr., a 31-year-old former Navy Commander once picked as *Life's* "outstanding Harvardman." Marvin, a son of President Roosevelt's law partner began his fight as representative of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. In time, however, the Citizens Committee itself was reached by Pan American and pulled out of the struggle. Marvin then organized a Citizens Committee for Subsidy Separation, made up of such divergent members as Norman Mac-

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Donald, executive director of the Taxpayers Federation; former CAB Chairman James Landis; and leaders of the CIO, the AFL, the AVC and the AMVETS.

After lengthy study and consultations with his committee members Marvin concluded that the international portions of the bill reported by the Senate committee would need several strengthening amendments. He proposed the elimination of the 10-year subsidy period "without reduction" as a completely unjustified grab on the Treasury. Instead, he proposed that Congress maintain its jealous prerogative of annual fiscal review for subsidy payments. In the international-mail-rate section he advocated a continuation of the Universal Postal Union program. He argued, however, that rates should be determined by costs rather than by what foreign air carriers charge. (Foreign lines carry only about four percent of the US foreign airmail.) Marvin proposed further that foreign carriers should not be paid more than US international flagships.

His primary problem was that the subject was so technical that most Senators were skeptical of tackling the airline lobby. They knew that Senators Ed Johnson, Owen Brewster (R, Maine) and Pat McCarran (D, Nev.), long friendly to Pan American and well backed by Pan American lobbyists would run roughshod over them on the Senate floor.

However Senators Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) and George Aiken (R, Vt.) felt the cause was worth the fight. They reasoned that it would save the taxpayers millions of dollars and prevent the emergence of Pan American as a "chosen instrument" monopoly. Senators John J. Williams (R, Del.) and Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) promised to assist them on the floor.

The first day of the debate opened September 17. Senator Johnson had not completed his statement when Senators Aiken, Douglas and Lehman opened up a volley which made the handful of Senators present sit up in their seats. This was not anticipated by the airline lobby whose plans were perfected during a luncheon meeting held by Stuart Tipton, counsel for the Air Transport Association, and Senator McCarran.

As the time ticked away the trio of Senators maintained their constant barrage of questions against Johnson; Tipton paced up and down the hall outside the chamber, puffing heavily on his pipe, a worried expression on his face. McCarran, with a speech and a glass of water on his desk, finally despaired of getting the floor and left the chamber.

Meanwhile, Sen. Brien McMahon (D, Conn.) lined up with Brewster and McCarran. He was very unhappy about the debate. Outside, swarms of Pan American representatives were in evidence under J. Carroll Cone, vice-president of Pan American and one of the airlines' top lobbyists.

The debate prevented any votes that night. The next day S436 was scheduled as the second order of business. However, aside from a speech by McCarran, the entire day was taken up with other issues. Marvin saw this as a signal that the Pan American lobby was in action. Cone, Michael Flinn, Roger Doulens, Pan America's highly paid lobbyists, knew every trick to secure delay.

The third day everyone was set. McMahon introduced his amendment making an airmail contract with the government, in addition to a Certificate of Convenience and Necessity, a prerequisite of receiving subsidy. This would bar some 12 cargo-passenger lines from getting subsidy unless they could secure a mail contract, an unlikely possibility based on past experience. The McMahon amendment conflicted with the desires of the Department of Defense.

During the debate, as during subsequent debates, not more than a handful of Senators were on the floor. When the rollcall vote took place, it is fair to estimate that not more than 25 percent of the Senators knew what they were voting for on either side. The McMahon amendment passed 53 to 28.

"That margin," one reporter commented, "is just about standard for the airline lobby."

By an even greater margin the McCarran amendment, providing for three-year subsidy contracts for all domestic mail lines, was approved. Following this, Senator Williams secured an amendment reducing the subsidy period for US international flagships from 10 years to five and deleting the phrase "without reduction." Marvin and his committee considered this a great victory.

Next the Douglas-Aiken-Lehman amendment to pay rates to US international flagships on the basis of costs rather than the foreign rates was defeated by 58 to 23. The passage of this amendment would have saved the American taxpayers at least $30 million per year. Such economy leaders as Senators Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.), Homer Capehart (R, Ind.) and Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) voted against economy. And Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.), the Senate's foremost champion of economy when it is achieved at the expense of federal workers' salaries or school children's lunches, declined to vote.

However, Senator Douglas did secure one amendment by mutual agreement, making it an offense for government employees to accept gifts or other forms of gratuities from airline officials who were desirous of lush subsidy contracts. The greatest irony of the day was provided when Senator Brewster rose to his feet to ask whether this included members of Congress. Senators smiled knowing that Brewster is foremost among the beneficiaries of Pan American's "inspection" trips.

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EUROPE THE BATTLEGROUND

IV. The New Europe Progam

by Michael Straight

At Ottawa, the governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have turned at last to face the mounting problems created by the ending of the Marshall Plan, and the emergence of what is called the Mutual Security Program. These problems center in the sharing of the arms burden, and the developing relationship among Europe, Britain and the United States.

In the years of the Marshall Plan we said to Europeans: Rebuild your capacity to produce food and clothing and we will provide the materials; put your young men to work and we will bring them the tools.

Now the Marshall Plan is over. No new collective enterprise has taken place. We are saying to each separate European nation: Convert your capacity to armaments and we will give you the raw materials of armaments; draft your young men and we will give them weapons.

Obviously the first program is self-generating and the second is not. It requires new incentives, better organization, a closer relationship between Europe and the US. All are lacking today. Under our pressure, the governments of Europe are stumbling down the road to rearmament. Their peoples are following reluctantly and with rising resentment as living standards fall. The program is no longer their program. The objective is no longer their well-being. They see the struggle as one between distant giants, which they distrust. Their hearts are not in the new task.

This task, of rearming Europe, of course is necessary. Liberals who cling to the cliché that Communism is an *idea* which social reform singlehanded can dispel as the sun dispels fog are as irresponsible as generals who regard reform as superfluous in a military contest. As long as Stalinism seeks power through military conquest, defense expenditures are one rough measure of a free society's will to survive. They are a measure also of its capacity to plan ahead. The lack of long-range planning in Europe, like the flight of capital, the low rate of private investment and the high rate of interest, result from Europe's defenselessness. "You cannot realize the material potential of Europe without rearmament," said Milton Katz, former European head of the Economic Cooperation Administration, because "if you look back over the development of Europe you will find that one of the greatest single factors restricting economic progress is fear."

Certainly rearmament can reduce fear. It can also arouse new fears. In a divided and poverty-stricken continent, where one-fifth of the people are committed to Communist revolution, rearmament *on a national basis* must undermine living standards and cause dangerous tensions. So it arouses new fears.

There is a large and growing gap between the task we have set of making Europe defensible in the course of a few years, and the political and economic means we have employed to achieve this task. Military men, who have taken over the program, are wholly unable to comprehend this problem, let alone to solve it. But the governments of Europe do comprehend it, and are solving it in their own way, by silently and stubbornly falling behind the rearmament goals we have imposed.

The Medium Term Defense Plan, drawn up before the Korean invasion, first set the goals for European rearmament. It was drawn up in the context of a rapidly improving economic situation in Europe, a trend that the Korean War at once reversed. That plan became one stage removed from reality when lower targets were set. It is now two stages removed from reality as contracts are let and troops raised on a much smaller scale. There is a great deal of talk about new divisions and mounting arms production. But the divisions are paper divisions, and production is not under way.

The failure of European nations to meet the tasks we have set raises the central issue of the relationship between the United States and Europe.

In the days of the Marshall Plan, when the US Government proposed action to the governments of Europe, they responded. They were too weak to resist, and since their revival turned on recovery, US aid was a matter of life or death. They accepted our participation in economic planning, and our marginal interference on social issues. Our intervention was eased because it was understood that the Marshall Plan was a short-range plan whose goal was Europe's independence of the US.

Now all that is changed. We are no longer helping Europeans to help themselves. They are no longer responding when we lay down the line. They are failing to meet the targets we have set. We are failing to realize that their inaction is not a matter of laziness or cowardice, but arises from the basic disorganization of a divided continent. Instead of helping to place rearmament on the one basis where it can be carried out, we have been exhorting each nation to behave as nations

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should. For months, American officials have been preaching, scolding, lecturing Europeans on the well-known horrors of Communism, appealing for greater efforts and asking futilely *who will step up first?*

The French Government has outlined a rearmament plan. But it bears little relation to work in progress. General Eisenhower has sent an urgent appeal to the NATO conference in Ottawa calling for redoubled arms efforts. But since the NATO cannot implement this appeal it simply arouses new resentments. The nations in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation have joined in a manifesto, declaring that rearmament and recovery can be combined, and looking toward a 25-percent increase in production in the next five years. But in the absence of detailed collective plans, this remains a statement of good intentions and no more. The Productivity Campaign is a bold project for raising living standards but it can be carried out only in a framework of European Union and civilian control. The trend is away from a broad program of regeneration toward a military enterprise; away from a vital partnership of equals toward an unequal relationship between a patron state bending the separate nations of Europe to its own purposes, and its satellites who stand hat in hand to receive their military handouts, and, lacking pride and prospects, lose the will to survive free.

If these trends continue, the economic ground gained during the Marshall Plan will be given up; the good will and close relations it established will be lost in recrimination and resentment. The deadly impact of the cuts made by Congress in economic aid to Europe can be eased by the allocation of $500 million in military contracts in Europe. But these contracts represent obligations and not expenditures, and they will in turn obligate European governments to spend more in imported raw materials, and so further to undermine their trade balances. Sometime this winter, the governments of Europe are bound to come back to us to say: We are doing all that we can militarily, but without increased economic aid the goals you have set cannot possibly be carried out.

At that point we will face a critical decision: to accelerate aid, or to cut back the rearmament program. Since he believes the second choice would bring war much closer, General Eisenhower is certain to ask for more aid. But Congress, in an election year, is unlikely to hold itself rather than Europe to blame, and to add further to the pressure of rising prices at home. Americans are unlikely to respond to one more emergency appeal for funds which they sense, quite rightly, will be wasted in a continent which remains divided. Yet to come back once more to beg will be as demoralizing for European nations as it will be unconvincing to the US.

If for these reasons new funds are not granted, the Mutual Security Program will go by default, and a good deal of the momentum, the hope and the confidence created at so great an effort since the war will be lost.

These are the problems which confront the West at Ottawa. There the European members of the NATO have insisted that the organization turn its attention to economic issues. They have criticized the US for lecturing them on the necessity of integration while pursuing her own course in world affairs. They have called, in de Gasperi's words, for an "enlargement" of the military alliance of the NATO to a closer political and economic union. But how can an organization consisting of one rich uncle and 14 poor relations, in which Portugal and the US are equals, be given sovereignty? The conference has created a top steering committee for the NATO, made up of leaders of France, Britain and the US. But according to the New York *Times*:

> Nobody has yet come up with any way to reconcile equality with efficiency in this coalition. The US is willing to try to meet the requests of smaller powers for more consultation . . . but it does not want to increase its commitments to an inefficient organization.

The Ottawa conference is to be followed by the Rome conference of the NATO. At Rome the issues faced at Ottawa are supposed to be resolved. The steering committee will be charged with responsibility for bringing to Rome an adequate response to the NATO's mounting difficulties. Its best hope is to look on the present program, and the present organization of the NATO, as part of a short-lived transition while a new long-range program to succeed the Marshall Plan is being worked out.

The primary objective of this new program should be the creation on the Continent of Europe of a union, stable, dynamic and strong enough militarily to make aggression unprofitable. Its growth should be charted, as the goals of the Marshall Plan were charted, starting with the European Army and the Schuman Plan, continuing with a unified defense program and unified procurement, and progressing to political federation. To bring about this long-range objective, necessary as Eisenhower has declared for the security of all free nations, the US and Great Britain would provide long-range aid related to specific European goals.

The second objective of this new program should be the reorganization and enlargement of the NATO. In place of the present frustrating system in which the US makes major decisions and the European nations tag along, these decisions would be reached by the NATO's executive, consisting of Britain, the US and the Euro-

(Continued on page 23)

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MEAT—BACK TO THE BLACK MARKET

by James H. Scheuer and Howard M. Cohen

By now it is plain that the abolition of livestock slaughter controls in July was a major mistake. Increases have already been granted by the OPS at packer and wholesale levels, further increases are imminent at the retail level. Yet "going market prices" for meat have surged over legal price ceilings at all stages of distribution. There has been a return to the kind of chaos and demoralization which typified the worst days of meat scarcity in the last war and which now open the meat industry to a flourishing black market.

Cattle raisers in increasing number are evading Ceiling Price Regulation 23 governing the price of live cattle, by resorting to such familiar means as false invoicing, short weighting and side payments. And legitimate packers, in the absence of a fair allocation system, are competing to pay these illegal prices in their desperation to obtain enough cattle to keep their plants operating.

The result has been threefold: many packers throughout the country, unable to buy live cattle at ever increasing prices and sell carcasses at legal ceiling, have simply closed their doors and suspended operations; many others, unable to continue out-of-pocket losses as high as $25 on each head of cattle slaughtered, have gone out of business altogether; the majority, by passing along the same false invoicing and short weighting to the wholesaler, and by exacting side payments and tie-in sales, have simply forced wholesalers to evade legal ceilings in sales to the retail butcher.

In July, Congress paid no attention to the warnings given by OPS and Department of Agriculture experts when it cut the slaughter quota program from the Defense Production Act. Now Congress is faced with the results of its own blind disregard of expert advice.

Congressional leaders are worried at the extent to which the abolition of slaughter controls has generated a pattern of wholesale ceiling-price violations at every phase of distribution. Members of both parties, including some Congressmen formerly most outspoken in their opposition to effective slaughter controls, have jointly sponsored legislation reinstating the Administration's slaughter quota program.

The packers support this effort. As a spokesman for Wilson and Company, one of the nation's largest packers, has remarked, the current ceiling-price increases "aren't going to help us buy beef on the hoof. Our problem is to remain in compliance with livestock ceilings. We can't buy cattle and stay under the ceilings so long as the sellers demand over-ceiling prices." The sellers will continue to demand over-ceiling prices so long as packers are bidding against each other for scarce cattle in the absence of effective slaughter controls.

James H. Scheuer and Howard M. Cohen are New York City attorneys, now working in the Meat Branch of the OPS, who have participated in the drafting and administering of meat price and slaughter controls.

It is this plight of the packers that has inspired some of the most violent criticism of the OPS. Conservative spokesmen have insisted that the OPS slaughter quota program has restricted the production and marketing of livestock, and thus is the direct cause of soaring meat prices. Some spokesmen representing the liberal viewpoint, on the other hand, have criticized the slaughter quota program as a grand design to perpetuate the dominance of the "big-four" packers — Cudahy, Armour, Swift and Wilson—which together control over two-thirds of the national volume of meat slaughtered. They distrust the slaughter quota program as one designed to perpetuate the status quo by preventing aggressive new entrepreneurs from invading the field and challenging the dominance of the established firms by means of vigorous price competition.

For example, Consumers Union, an organization reflecting the consumer point of view, argues in its publication, *Consumer Reports*, that

> [Cattle] shortages do not exist. They did not exist last February when the licensing order . . . and the subsequent quota-setting order were issued. . . . What was imminent then, and without that order would be even more imminent now, was greatly increased competition among packers. With prices up and cattle supply abundant, the situation was ripe for a number of little slaughterers to spring up under the high speculative umbrellas the packers had put over their own operations. These newcomers would have offered a widening market to cattlemen, on the one hand, and lower prices to consumers on the other. They will not appear, however. They have been prohibited from entering the business.

It is easy to take the doctrinaire position that any program designed to stabilize conditions for an industry dominated by a few large-scale slaughter combines must be fundamentally wrong. The OPS slaughter control program was, of course, frankly designed to maintain the status quo. The necessity for such a program is based both upon current economic conditions and the nature of the meat industry. First in times of rising consumer incomes and fewer opportunities to spend

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these increased incomes on consumer durables and soft goods, people turn to food, particularly to meat, and more particularly to the better grades of beef. Thus strong inflationary pressures are built up under meat prices from cattle raiser to retail butcher. The explosive potential of these inflationary pressures is aggravated because the source of supply lags far behind during the several years necessary to expand livestock production from the time when the increased demand is expressed.

Second, when meat becomes scarce and pressure is created under meat prices at all levels, anyone with a second-hand truck, an axe, a back yard and an eye for a fast dollar can get into the slaughter business. While the supply of beef can only expand slowly relative to demand, the supply of slaughterers who can enter the competitive market overnight is unlimited.

Thus, the competition among packers for scarce meat supplies, made more desperate by the many new entrants who flood into the business on a shoestring basis, far from driving down the price of meat at the retail level, sends it soaring upward. Slaughterers after all are not competing in selling their services cheaply for the benefit of consumers. They are competing for scarce raw materials, all of which would end up on retail counters anyway, but which because of competitive bidding will end up on the retail meat counter at greatly increased prices.

This reasoning leads the OPS to the conviction, amply borne out by World War II experience, that in times of unusual scarcity and increased demand, unrestricted competition can lead only to chaos and spiraling prices. The approach worked out by the OPS was designed to meet the problem, first by insuring that meat was kept in normal legitimate channels of distribution from raiser to packer, wholesaler and retail butcher, and second by insuring that at each stage in the transition from live cattle on the range to fabricated retail cut the legitimate entrepreneur was kept to a reasonable profit. The slaughter quota program was designed to achieve the former while the meat-price-controls program was relied upon to effect the latter.

The rationale of this program was that if the established operators could be assured a fair share of the available meat, it would be possible to obtain a substantial degree of compliance with legal price ceilings restricting price and profit margins to reasonable levels at all stages of distribution. Packers would not be forced to look to black-market sources for scarce meat, or to compete for the privilege of paying well over ceiling prices because their slaughter pens were empty. Nor would they feel impelled to sell their fabricated carcasses to wholesalers at exorbitant black-market prices because they had paid black-market prices for their raw materials or because they were able to obtain such small quantities of meat at legitimate prices that they felt forced to demand exorbitant prices per unit of sales in order to meet fixed overhead and operating costs.

The slaughter control program, its critics notwithstanding, had nothing whatever to do with limiting the numbers of cattle on the range, or those which the cattlemen might bring to market. Nor did it set out to promote monopoly. The only purpose of the program was to assure that, whatever the volume of cattle which was sent to market, it would all flow through normal, legitimate channels of distribution from slaughterer to retail meat counter and at reasonable prices.

First, to prevent the recurrence of a black market caused by the entrance into the field of thousands of irresponsible slaughterers a licensing program was established by the OPS. This program, which permitted the registration of new slaughterers under certain hardship circumstances or where necessary to meet local meat needs, nevertheless prevented a mass influx of new slaughterers. CU's "newcomers . . ." who are "prohibited from entering the business" would have been in many instances law-violating fly-by-nighters who, OPA experience during and after World War II has shown, would set up shop in fantastic numbers with the sole object of obtaining exorbitant prices by diverting scarce meat supplies into the black market. By keeping these profiteers out of business the registration was intended to insure that the supply of livestock coming to market would be kept in legitimate slaughter and distribution channels.

Second, as registration alone would not assure each slaughterer his fair share of the total supply of livestock coming to market, slaughter quotas were needed as well.

The slaughter quota system operated to assure each slaughterer the same relative percentage of the total supply of livestock currently coming to market that he had received during the comparable period in 1950. Accordingly, if it was estimated that the total volume of cattle coming to market would be 10 percent more than in the same period in 1950, each slaughterer was permitted to slaughter 110 percent of his comparable kill in 1950. If the total volume of cattle was estimated to be 10 percent less than in the 1950 period, each slaughterer was permitted to slaughter 90 percent of his comparable kill in 1950. Thus, the entire volume of cattle coming to market was absorbed. Each slaughterer received his proportionate historical share of the total meat supply, which in turn assured him of being able to satisfy the meat needs of the community he served.

This was the program that Congress killed off in July. Now in a much tighter situation, the cycle is complete and the same measure is before Congress again, giving us a second chance.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Politburo and Congress*

TO THE DEGREE that members of Congress are reluctant to express themselves freely because Stalin may hear of it, the gulf that has existed between that body and the Politburo is progressively narrowing. There may come a time when Stalin will be the boss of the Kremlin positively, and of the Congress of the United States negatively. On Capitol Hill the point has been reached where Congressmen argue for or against a bill not from the point of view of the good of the country, but from that of whether its passage would please or displease Stalin.

Perhaps it might be well for both the Senate and the House to amend their rules to provide that all debate hereafter shall be in sign language behind closed doors and with prying newspaper correspondents strictly barred.

The fear of our legislators to express themselves frankly, either in public debate or in private interview, is the perfect flower of McCarthyism which, in its turn, is composed of approximately equal parts of McCarthyism and McCarranism. It was the former Representative Martin Dies of Texas who developed a technique to bastardize our legislative processes. Under the inspiration of the notorious Dies, the Un-American Activities Committee of the House rapidly degenerated into unsavory keyhole-peepers and smearers. However, he failed to copyright his patently un-American invention, with the result that rivals set themselves up in the same sorry business, especially in the Senate.

"Jabbing Joe" McCarthy proceeded to demonstrate that an unscrupulous Senator could put on a one-man show by hiding behind his immunity. The formula of McCarthyism, as simple as its technique, has consisted of an unproved charge that a named citizen was or had been a Communist, or at the very best, was or would be a fellow traveler, if, as or when.

Next, Señor Don McCarran y Shea came up with the bright idea of setting up in the Senate a model Spanish inquisition of his own. Everyone knows that when this sterling and exemplary American citizen, the Honorable McCarran, is not running errands for Franco, the Fascist, he can customarily be found rallying to the defense of those indigenous and highly civilized industries of his "great" state—legalized gambling, freely flowing liquor, and even more freely flowing divorces, which could be vended more conveniently by slot machines.

To shake our confidence in our political and social institutions, to the joy of Stalin, we can always depend upon such men as Dies, McCarthy and McCarran. By means of their free-wheeling character assassination and reckless mudslinging these three worthies and others of the same ilk are doing their devilish best to tear down our free institutions and subvert our form of government into a tyranny where thoughts are not only policed, but are distorted into fear-ridden hags that shrink from looking at a vision of themselves in a mirror.

In view of what some faithless public servants, greedy for headlines and for power, are doing to the country to which they profess to be loyal, it was a comfort to read recently of the Convention of the US National Student Association in Minneapolis which adopted, by a vote of 220 to 48, a resolution denouncing McCarthyism. These undergraduates had the courage to point out that, "due to the present fear of being called 'Communist' or 'subversive', there is a contraction of freedom on the American college campus."

In contrast with this clear-thinking and courageous utterance on the part of this generation of college men, it must be admitted that timidity has crept into the administrative branch of the government. In increasing numbers, men and women are afraid to think out loud or even to transmit to their superiors information that the latter should have in order to be able to steer our "Ship of State" on the true course.

Even the Supreme Court, as was shown by its regrettable decision in the case of the 11 Communists, with only Justices Black and Douglas dissenting, has apparently been affected by the thought-terrorists and their supporting claque of professional former Communists, under the leadership of such undesirable persons as Budenz and Miss Bentley.

However, it was left to the US Senate recently, when it was considering an appropriation bill for the armed forces, to disclose to what extent our thought-police have insidiously injected themselves into our legislative processes. That debate demonstrated what our lack of self-control has done to us, the entire population of the United States, and to our institutions.

Unfortunately, there are few men even on the floor of the Senate who have the courage to speak frankly and courageously on questions affecting the welfare and intellectual integrity of their country without being disturbed by the charge that their words will bring aid and comfort to those people behind the Iron Curtain.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND SECURITY

by Hans Kohn

MODERN FRANCE: PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. Edited by Edward Mead Earle (Princeton University Press; $6).
THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, by Donald C. McKay (Harvard University Press; $4).

THE THIRD French Republic was born, like the Weimar Republic, out of defeat, the collapse of an imperial regime and the suppression of a civil war. Totalitarian nationalism developed in France until, in the Boulanger and Dreyfus crises, it threatened the existence of the republican regime. Totalitarian nationalism also grew in Germany under the Republic, but with what a difference! Nationalism was defeated in France, and the democratic republic triumphed. The imperial Marshal McMahon was ousted by the Republic. In Germany nationalism triumphed without meeting much resistance; and the Republic was ousted by the imperial Marshal Hindenburg. It is for these reasons that even a weakened France menaced from within remains the home of a democratic Europe, and that on the Continent the organization of Western Europe must center on France, not Germany.

In the first half of the twentieth century the Anglo-American peoples, the British as well as the North Americans, did not clearly realize the importance of France. After World War I and after World War II, they repeatedly showed themselves to be irritated by French attitudes and inclined to put reliance on German "stability" and "efficiency." This misunderstanding of the true interests of peace and of Western civilization made possible the rise of Hitler and the coming of World War II. Today, weakened by two wars and the uncertainties of the last thirty years, France faces difficult adjustment in all fields. She will not be able even to attempt a solution unless she is given a greater sense of security than she enjoyed after World War I.

Her security was then psychologically undermined by the feeling of being abandoned by her wartime allies; this anxiety and defeatism reappeared after World War II. France feels herself threatened this time not only by a German neighbor whose astonishing recovery re-establishes its numerical and economic superiority, but also by the more distant Russia which did not present a threat before or after the previous war. In these circumstances, French recovery is conceivable only by the closest collaboration with Britain and the United States. And the United States and Britain need a strong and secure France today even more than after 1918.

An appreciation of the importance of France is to be gained from the careful reading of two authoritative books recently published in the United States. One is the work of Professor Donald C. McKay of Harvard, who manages in small compass to present an astonishing amount of information and of shrewd and penetrating judgments. After examining the evidence on both sides, McKay, I think rightly, believes that the French Government should have been moved to North Africa in the fateful days of June, 1940. The triumph of the Pétain defeatists in that month expressed not so much a willingness to capitulate to the Germans as distrust and hatred of the British. It was not understood by these Frenchmen, nor at that time by many Americans, that the interests of Britain and the United States were identical, and that the survival of France and the West demanded an integration of France with the Anglo-American world.

In the final words of his book McKay rightly points out that France, as well as the United States and Britain, has become part of the larger setting of the North Atlantic community and that her policy and efforts must inevitably be seen in this wider context. "In a very real sense, a book on *The United States and France* is now an anachronism." This new situation has not always been as clearly realized by the authors of the other volumes in this American Foreign Policy Library.

A less coherent but a more intimate picture of trends in present-day France is offered by a second and much larger book published under the skilled editorship of Edward Mead Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. As one of his many contributions to a better understanding of the strategic and social complexities of our times, Professor Earle succeeded in bringing together a number of young American scholars working in the field of modern French history. The papers which they read at a conference in Princeton in 1950 now form the chapters of *Modern France*, a book remarkable both for the sweep of its treatment and the freshness of its approach. Of the 28 chapters by as many different contributors, those which discuss the problems of French security and the position of France in world affairs are less engrossing—perhaps because the material is so familiar—than the introductory chapters, which, in solid historical perspective, deal with the decline of the French *élan vital* and with succeeding shifts in French politics.

Though France is a paradise for intellectuals and for politicians, the psychological foundations for a successful democracy are much less developed there than in Britain or the United States. As Professor André Siegfried, the only Frenchman participating in the symposium, points out in his introductory essay, French democracy originated in a sudden and double revolt against

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the absolutism of King and Church. Neither had given the French a tradition of individual moral responsibility or an education in political liberty. "Our democracy is thus based on a two-fold negation that has profoundly perverted the idea of authority, which we were apt to consider as absolutist and tyrannical, and of liberty, which in France is not a constructive conception. The nation still suffers from these basic misunderstandings." HANS KOHN

Hans Kohn is professor of History at the City College of New York and author of The Idea of Nationalism, The Twentieth Century and other books.

FOR GENERAL REFERENCE

THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA. Edited by William Bridgwater and Elizabeth J. Sherwood (Columbia University Press; second edition, $28.50).

EVERYMAN'S ENCYCLOPEDIA. Edited by Athelstan Ridgway (Macmillan; 12 vols., $27.50).

THESE two encyclopedias are approximately the same price, claim similar audiences, aim at like purposes and therefore can appropriately be compared. *Everyman's*, a British work, has been substantially revised and enlarged in its third edition. It runs to 12 compact volumes, each about 750 pages; the type is small but clear, the paper thin but remarkably opaque and free of some of the disagreeable characteristics of India paper. (The pages do not, for example, stick together, to be separated only by blowing on them or by other stratagems.) It has 9,000,000 words, 2,500 illustrations, a convenient two-column page, is stoutly sewed, attractively bound, and lies well on the table. The second edition of the *Columbia Encyclopedia* is one volume of 2,200 pages, about the same size as an India-paper *Webster's* unabridged. In this handsome, strongly made book, the editors, without crowding, assembled 70,000 articles totaling 6,000,000 words. The well-printed, three-column page can be read without strain; there is a thumb index; the volume is best used on a lectern or dictionary stand. Neither *Everyman's* nor *Columbia* has maps, a real inconvenience; *Columbia* has no illustrations, not even line cuts or diagrams. Such austerity in a popular encyclopedia is distinctly bizarre.

Everyman's more closely fits my notion of an encyclopedia; not only because of the more thorough treatment of the subjects one is apt to look up but because of the omission of subjects one is not apt to look up. An encyclopedia ought not, as the *Columbia* occasionally does, attempt to compete with an almanac, a sports guide or *Who's Who*. *Everyman's* gives *Tchekhov* 750 words, *Columbia* (*Chekhov*) about 200; *Electricity* receives 40,000 in *Everyman's* against 2,000 in *Columbia*; *Bulgaria*, 5,000 against 900; *United States*, 35,000 against 8,000; *Mary Baker Eddy*, the same wordage in both works. *Freedom of the Press* and *Liberty* are topics skimped in *Everyman's* and adequately discussed in *Columbia*. *Columbia* allots a niggardly 133 words to *Lightning*, but Franklin is credited for his rod; *Everyman's* does not mention Franklin but otherwise describes the subject thoroughly. Relativity gets a remarkably lucid write-up in *Everyman's*; *Columbia's* column is accurate, difficult and dull, intended, I should say, for forgetful physicists. Chess is not to be learned from an encyclopedia but *Everyman's* devotes six and a half helpful columns to it; if you wish to play *jai alai* (Pelota), *Columbia* is the better instructor. The United Nations is fairly explained in each work, *Columbia's* article being perhaps a little clearer and sharper. *Everyman's* has heard of the atom and the bomb but not of the USAEC, the UNAEC or, apparently, of the British atomic-energy establishment. Music and painting are the subjects of long, interesting, historical accounts in *Everyman's*; it makes geometry not too plain in 6,000 words (with diagrams), *Columbia's* 300 words are positively terrifying. Football is a big subject for both books, with appropriate national emphases. Baseball games, says *Everyman's*, are noted for their "scenes of frenzied enthusiasm for which publicity 'build-up' of the players and the practice of cheering and calling are partly responsible"; the writer of the article forgets to mention that there are umpires. Columbia knows about cricket, and pays its respects to Grace, Hobbs and Bradman; *Everyman's* acknowledges Babe Ruth but slights Honus Wagner and Walter Johnson. Pearl Buck, Warren Austin, Jackie Robinson, Johnny Appleseed, Benjamin Rush, Button Gwinnett, William Faulkner, to say nothing of electronics, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Bowery are not admitted to *Everyman's*. *Columbia* is impervious to geometric progression, map-reading, James Chuter Ede, prehistory, prerogative writs, radio-astronomy, the King's Remembrancer and Balanoglossus. The last item in *Columbia* is *Zyrians* (not in *Everyman's*); the last in *Everyman's* is *Zymotic* (not in *Columbia*).

Having fired my brief volley, I hasten to acknowledge that each is an excellent job in its sphere. *Everyman's* is the choice for heavy duty; *Columbia* is more knowledgeable on timely matters, especially the circumstances of the American scene. I suggest *Columbia* for the all-around home or office reference book where a larger work is neither needed nor desired; *Everyman's*, where a standard reference tool is required but cost and/or bulk eliminate the *Britannica*. JAMES R. NEWMAN

MID-AFTERNOON PRAYERS

NONES, by W. H. Auden (Random House; $2.50).

NONES (which rhymes with *bones*, and *moans*) is—sayeth the venerable Webster—the ninth canonical hour in ancient Roman and Eastern reckoning, or three p.m.; "hence, an office recited" at about this time. And this whole volume, beginning with an apology and ending with a complaint and question, represents an almost ritual effort by the poet to pray and coach himself into the right attitudes for this historical moment between violences. If the day is still too young for revelations and conclusions, yet the blood of recent sacrifice is "already dry on the grass." We are unprepared to meet the demanding silence of this moment-without-resolution, though we feel our responsibility and guilt as well as our helpless common mortality. "What shall we do," the title poem asks, "until night-

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fall?" Poem after poem, following hard upon the dedicatory piece rejecting Auden's dissident past, states our predicament and prophesies our doom. It is true that the final piece holds that "Only the young and the rich/have the nerve or the figure to strike/the lacrimae rerum note." Nevertheless, at forty-three this is just the note Auden strikes —particularly in his two most beautiful offerings of the present collection, the powerful, musically near-perfect "Prime" and the ironic and savage "Song."

Simultaneously, however, there is one particular counter-note that recurs in this group of poems. In its most flippant form, this note can most clearly be heard in the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa poem "Under Which Lyre a Reactionary Tract for the Times," an attractive if somewhat facile (for Auden) light-verse manifesto against stuffed shirts and heads:

> Read *The New Yorker*, trust in God;
> And take short views.

The notion that keeps recurring is that, for the time being at least, we must content ourselves with minimums. The theme pops up in a surprising number of contexts, religious and profane. How consciously the poet employs it may be seen in "The Duet," an equally amusing and exasperating Yeatsian concoction in which a "huge sad lady" sings mournfully of tragic, romantic passion while a "scrunty beggar" with "one glass eye and a hickory leg" praises the world as it is, crying "Nonsense to her large repining"—the said large repining having been sufficiently burlesqued by Auden to make the point clear in any case. So too with the more philosophical "In Praise of Limestone," done in the familiar wry, sly, fly manner; the self-deflating "Serenade"; the tough-minded but poignant "Ischia"; and, among others, the wittily common-sensible "Cattivo Tempo." It is not unlikely, indeed, that Auden recognizes and clings to a sense of kinship with the *bon sens* of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century neo-classicism. There has always been a bold, even a clear, intellectualism in his writing that was never quite Romantic philosophizing and never purely—despite the early experiments in argument through oblique imagery—Metaphysical either.

It is a fact, certainly, that Auden approaches more nearly than any other of our poets to being a twentieth-century Dryden. In technical versatility he is surpassed only by Pound, but Pound has after all not "specialized" in verse as directly ratiocinative as has Auden, and his work of real distinction has been limited to fewer types. One recalls with amazement the range of moods and lyric, contemplative and narrative forms employed in *The Age of Anxiety*, all disciplined by the basic Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse in which that whole long triumph of poetic virtuosity is written. His combination of humor and seriousness in such a poem as "Footnotes to Dr. Sheldon" and his brief homage to T. S. Eliot on his sixtieth birthday, as well as his delight in formal effects—and in setting them off against a colloquial idiom very often —mark this affinity with Dryden and his more skillful successors.

If we are not, then, completely satisfied with these new poems, it is not because of any diminution of Auden's skill. Rather it is because, despite his great skill and ability to delight, he possesses a most un-Drydenesque sense of man's tragic condition, together with a pure emotional insight of a very high order; and these are in constant conflict with his ironic intelligence. What richness there is, for instance, in the beginning of "Prime"! But then the arguments about history and time and guilt —beautifully handled, undoubtedly, but still on a lower plane—tumble in to set the poem in order at the expense of just the highest achievement. As so many of these poems show, it is absolute knowledge which Auden desires and prays for; and that being impossible, he finds he must settle for much less to keep peace with God if not with himself. So it becomes easy for him to satirize his own and our common humanness—our weaknesses, vanity, in fact all our history and limited knowledge. But somewhere along the line, despite our great sympathy and admiration, there has been a failure of power—the original penalty for the original sin.

M. L. ROSENTHAL

FICTION PARADE

PARTY GOING, by Henry Green (Viking; $3).

ANACHRONISTIC in subject matter and something of a practice piece in manner, *Party Going*, the latest Henry Green novel to be issued here (although it was written in the thirties), has both the faults and the promise of a *Jugendwerk* when seen in the dazzling light of *Back* and *Concluding*.

The design of the novel is characteristically small, limited to four hours in a railway hotel where a group of rich young Londoners must sit out a fog that prevents their train leaving for France. They spend their time worrying about the delay, each fastened on a particular personal aspect of the general worry, each talking, maneuvering and plotting to ease his own special need.

Though thinly spread, all the Green touches are here—the cool, clear, fresh view, the shockingly perfect phrase, the silken sensuality and the intricate, minuscule plot which grows from the concept that no one really lives with anyone else; people just live around each other, meeting, briefly intertwining and then parting in the patterns of an endless dance or the frightening designs of tangled jungle foliage. But in spite of being unmistakably Green, this novel lacks the full orchestration, the subtle blend of cynicism and compassion, nor does it have the prismatic brilliance and poetry of the later works.

KATE SIMON

FRIGHT IN THE FOREST, by Benn Sowerby (Knopf; $3).

MOST NOVELS, Virginia Woolf's as well as Fielding's, present human beings as relatively knowable, crystallized identities, and go on to concentrate on their relationships. But in Benn Sowerby's first novel the only human being extensively presented is the narrator, and the only developed relationship is his own struggle with himself to find his personality. The result is mostly talk—not among *dramatis personae*, but *to* the reader. In fact, the book is an essay. At the beginning we do get a few concrete glimpses of a lonely, English middle-class childhood, and there are certain hallucinatory references to life as a clerk later on. But these are invariably interrupted by the narrator, who assures us that they really don't matter and are only offered as illustrations of the problems of perception, consciousness, appearance, reality, etc., which are then discussed at length. There are even protests from time to time on the impossibility of writing such a book at all.

If a majority of Sowerby's readers agree, and give up, it will be too bad, for however unnovelistically realized, his inten-

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tions are honorable and important. Like Proust and Woolf, he is interested not so much in human beings as in human becomings. He would like to persuade us that we are far less fixed, quantitative and perceivable than we commonly assume, and to do so, he shows us a man in the act of being unable to make enough of a "character" of himself for an ordinary novel's purposes. Thus in so far as his novel fails, Sowerby succeeds.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in contemporary fiction ought to be curious about Sowerby's second novel and, incidentally, grateful to Alfred Knopf for making his first available here. Perhaps, too, Knopf might be reminded that another novel with some of these same intentions, though far more successfully realized—Rayner Heppenstall's *Saturnine*—has been waiting for an American edition since 1943. ROBERT PHELPS

Books in Brief

Yangtse Incident, by Lawrence Earl (Knopf; $3).

An account of the experiences suffered aboard the frigate *HMS Amethyst* during the 101 days in 1949 when she sat like a crippled duck beneath the guns of the Chinese Communists. The author, a Canadian newspaperman, reconstructed the story from records and the memories of survivors. The most interesting material is the account of the almost daily "peace conferences" with the emissaries from the Red command. Earl appears to have done an accurate job, but his prose suffers from the synthetic conversations, the easy emotionalism and the glib recital of picturesque detail that today are admired as professional journalism.

Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries, by Roy Meredith (Scribners; $6).

This new collection of Mathew B. Brady prints (Meredith has previously published *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man*) contains 172 portraits of men and women who were in one way or another notable in the years 1850 to 1865. Many of them are very famous indeed, for until his great journalistic study of the Civil War ruined him, Brady enjoyed a patronage no other camera portraitist has ever matched. But it does not matter today whether the subject is Henry Ward Beecher or George Mortimer Bibb, David Farragut or Lydia Huntley Sigourney. They are all models for one extraordinary artist. There is not an uninteresting plate in the book and the majority are of such vitality, so straightforward yet so guilefully designed, that you blink, start and mutter to yourself as you turn the pages. Notes by the editor identify the personages and provide a light running comment on their times.

THEATRE

Bagels, Borscht, Ballet

STAGE SHOWS have been opening since early September, but it would be too much to say that the new theatrical season had begun. Speaking strictly as a reporter and adviser on what is sometimes (laughingly) called "live entertainment," I would say that your best bet now is ballet.

As readers of this department must have guessed, I do not believe the critic's function to be a guide service to practical theatregoing. Such a service is far too personal to be entrusted to a stranger. The critic's function is to be interesting on the subject of his discussion. This is so firmly my belief that I was tempted to title my piece this week "Pay No Heed," and to develop the thesis that any harsh thing that may be said about plays here must not be construed as a warning against seeing them. On principle I am for people's going to the theatre and, if possible, having a good time there—regardless of anybody's critical evaluation. Appetite is far more fundamental than judgment.

These convictions almost failed to stand up against the onslaught of recent evidence. That is why, in order to preserve the cheerful attitude I should like to maintain during the coming months, I begin with a categorical "Go to the Ballet"—specifically, at this writing, to the New York City Ballet, which has developed by dint of devotion and hard work into the finest ballet company we have.

The program I saw was distinguished by unusually good work by the orchestra in the pit as well as by topnotch dancing on the stage. Of the comparatively new works I saw, Jerome Robbins' *The Cage* (to Stravinsky's fascinatingly nervous String Concerto in D), though basically naive and even slight in its fierce conception—the female of the species as mankiller—is brilliantly talented in its total effect. (And Nora Kaye in the central role once again strikes me not only as an admirable dancer but as an exciting actress.) Some day, however, I should like to explain why the American choreographers who employ strong subjects for their material (generically, Anxiety) always strike me as young in their "morbidity," whereas George Balanchine's work seems "old" and deeply sophisticated even in his lightest moments.

Lace on Her Petticoat contains an amiably gentle and modest playscript by Aimée Stuart, a homely Scottish plaid, so to speak, spun around the theme of class snobbery in the British Isles. (The aristocracy snubs the middle class as the middle class snoots the workers.) But despite a sympathetic performance by Neva Patterson and a comically sharp one by Muriel Aked, the play becomes strained and strenuous through the unfortunate rigidity and stress of its direction. Instead of complete relaxation, there is something like a measured spastic tension.

We shall pass over Mae West's classic caricature on sex, her famous *Diamond Lil*, which if Miss West lives long enough may become as perennial as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. I gave my critical all to the lady in my review here two years ago.

Bagels and Lox and *Borscht Capades*, so-called "American"- or "English"-Yiddish revues, are two shows the dramatic critics were mistakenly invited to cover. There are, undoubtedly, customers for such home-cooked stews—both were reputedly successful in certain summer resorts and other outlying districts—but they are not proper fare for studied notice. However, since my department is as much concerned with generalities as with individual instances, I think there is a kind of ethnological point to be made apropos these revues.

Both shows offer several gifted performers. Both have a kind of good-humored energy and a warmth that ranges from the familiar to the gross, but is warmth nevertheless. What is special here is a peculiar ambiguity which, though rarely discussed by the audience, does not go unperceived by it, because it constitutes the most striking and troublesome feature of both spectacles. They are *not* Yiddish in the sense that good Yiddish theatre was (for

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that reflected an older and traditionally rooted day), and they are not altogether American in the sense of, let us say, Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor or Lou Holtz, for these comedians felt themselves to be in the strong, sure swim of things.

The present shows are products of a feeling that might be described as a gusty embarrassment, characteristic of people whose world is "local" in the most impermanent sense and whose contact with the community is insecure, flighty, hysterically, though unconsciously and brightly, apologetic. Perhaps they might be set down—in terms of their own particular jargon—as chopped Lindy's. HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: A Gaggle of Geese

SOME DAY, a bright young graduate student will do a thesis on the physiology of *animalcule Americanus*—Sponsor, in the vernacular. The morphology of the beast, its form and structure, is familiar to millions. But function, habits and modus operandi have never been charted scientifically. When that is done, you may have the definitive answer to the question of program seasonality.

For 10 to 13 weeks each year the subject of our study is known to hibernate. His desire for seclusion is understandable. But why does this organism, whose very sinews are composed of competition and rivalry, travel off the air and back onto it again in such close-order formation? Why is it that, come Labor Day weekend and in the days and nights following, all sponsors awake at the same time? Within a couple of weeks, dozens of sponsors crawl out of their caves and swarm onto the airlanes in droves. Movies have no season (there's a slogan for you, Hollywood!) while the legitimate theatre makes an effort to space openings sensibly. Not the radio and television programs.

For the professional reviewer this is a hardship. At 7:30 of a Sunday evening, how to choose between NBC-TV's *Young Mr. Bobbin* and CBS-TV's *This Is Show Business*? The latter is a familiar article which, however, has replaced the humorous irascibility of Abe Burrows with the homey geniality of Sam Levenson as a regular panel member, along with Clifton Fadiman and George S. Kaufman, in dishing out unneeded advice to the glamorlorn of the entertainment world. But Mr. Bobbin is young Jackie Kelk, whom we remember as the Homer of *The Aldrich Family*, and he must be seen to be believed—especially with Jane Seymour as co-star of this new situation comedy.

At eight, Ed Sullivan's *Toast of the Town* devotes itself for two solid weeks to musicography, telling the story of Oscar Hammerstein II. There is wonderful music, singing, dancing—impeded though it is by Sullivan's humorless writing and unimaginative voicing. But opposite Sullivan's CBS-TV stand you find, on NBC's flickery, Eddie Cantor one week, Spike Jones the next, in an hour of comedy and variety.

So it goes, hour after hour, night after night. My friends in the trade press walk around bleary-eyed from looking, woozy from listening. And we in the more privileged general-magazine class, who theoretically practise on a selective basis, stumble around between the hazy guideposts, reduced to catch-as-catch-can twisting of the dials.

Were there anything exciting to see or hear, the task would be simple, but so far the diet is routine. A show called *Four-Star Review* last year becomes *All-Star Review* this season—the comedians, the jokes, are the same. In the drama department, the *Somerset Maugham Theatre* is rolling again on NBC-TV, Mondays at 9:30, but the Old Party's comedies of manners and tragedies of the sophisticated peccadillo are as static as ever. An hour earlier on Mondays, at eight, over CBS-TV, you find Peggy Wood still doing *Mama* impeccably, but the freshness is gone.

In the daytime, soap opera is in full swing. NBC-TV is still running *Hawkins Falls, Pop. 6,200* five times a week at five. On CBS-TV, there is a half-hour "strip" of this type of gloss, starting with a serialization of *The Egg and I* at noon and following with 15 minutes of *Search for Tomorrow.*

There isn't time to pay much attention to the social implications of broadcasting. You hear Lena Horne on that opener of Ed Sullivan's program and almost overlook the fact (because you never read the Hearst press as a matter of bias) that the *Journal-American* nearly succeeded in keeping her off the air because *Red Channels* doesn't like her. Actually, there was a standby in the wings the entire show, so that not a downbeat would have been missed if CBS had been "forced" to yank Miss Horne; unfortunately for the understudy, only two telephone calls protested this fine artist's appearance, and the independent Americanism of CBS's liberalistic management was not tested.

You spend an afternoon watching the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference being televised over the newly hooked-up transcontinental relays and make a mental note that, in line with your principle of giving broadcasters their due, you must compliment them for this exciting public service. But then the Acheson-Gromyko struggle extends its run; San Francisco holds an afternoon meeting; that means early evening hours for the Eastern networks, which means public service be damned, because those peak hours are "A" time on the rate cards, and . . . after all.

You listen to squawks in the bars, and in homes too, because the Robinson-Turpin fight was neither on television nor on radio, because Theatre-Television —direct hook-ups from the sports area to the theatres—had pre-empted what the broadcast audience had come to look upon as its right. You can't work up much steam about that, but you do wonder whether, somewhere among the regulations of the FCC, there isn't a rule against such restrictive use of TV. You determine to look into it some week when there are fewer than 56 programs on your schedule. Right now you are interested in another law—to forbid torture of radio-TV reviewers by crowding the logs so frantically. SAUL CARSON

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(Continued from page 14)

pean Union. In place of the humiliating system by which the separate nations of Europe line up to beg for US aid, this executive would outline the shares to be borne by each group in the over-all program, and the amount of aid that the US should give. Its staff planning should be carried out by the OEEC with Canada and the US as full-fledged members. Apart from the special cases of Germany and Austria, only Switzerland, Sweden and Ireland will remain in the OEEC as non-members of the NATO, and given the OEEC's experience and prestige, it would be absurd to allow these nations to prevent the OEEC's natural growth into the economic arm of the NATO.

A third part of this program, subordinate but essential, is the reconstitution of a permanent civilian agency in the US Government to direct foreign aid. Its primary job would be to act for the NATO in the US in directing the flow of US aid. A second function would be in developing and popularizing new plans. This lack of a civilian action agency in our government, now that the ECA's death warrant has been signed by the Senate, is a grave weakness. For new plans do not fall from the skies. The concepts of Western unity and European Union sprang up under the impetus brought to government by the core of brilliant and imaginative men who gathered under Paul Hoffman in the ECA. If this task is to be assigned to State Department officials, or to dissatisfied insurance agents and automobile salesmen called up as reservists by the Pentagon, we can give up hope of the NATO's growth as a vital force

In any context, rearmament would remain a major purpose of the NATO, but not the one purpose to be pursued to the exclusion of all others. Rearmament would become today's top priority in a continuing program. It would take top priority now because, in the previous phase of this program, between 1947 and 1951, defense was neglected in order to press recovery. For that reason an extra effort is needed now, but in these years, if production in a European Union can continue to rise by four percent each year, then the main burden of rearmament can be taken from the increase in production, and not out of existing living standards. After the build-up is completed, the maintenance of Europe's armed forces will cost much less. If Russia should then increase her arms expenditures, a proportionate effort, one-third as great by the NATO nations, will match the Soviet effort gun for gun, since their combined gross income is three times that of Russia and her satellites. From 1955 on, when the annual increase in Europe's production again could be applied to civilian needs, the additional capacity created for rearmament would go into higher living standards.

In this approach, rearmament would be organized as part of a long-range program for a new Europe, carried out with two other programs to raise European production and to achieve a fairer distribution of Europe's wealth. "These three programs go together," as Milton Katz has shown. "No one of them is realizable in the long run without the other two."

This program may seem more costly than piecemeal and patchwork expenditures. But it offers a rational hope in place of wishful thinking, and a realizable objective in place of an unknown end. To win any response, however, it must be lifted above the tired and prosaic level of present endeavors and organizations shaped by the cold hands of lawyers, economists and military men. The tasks they comprehend are important, but subordinate to psychological needs. Those needs were grasped by Eisenhower in his concept "one army, one uniform, one flag." They were summed up by Kenneth Lindsay, M.P., on the BBC:

> The thirties are dead and with them the God that failed: there is a deep spiritual hunger in Europe; there is an equal hunger in America plus much bewilderment. . . . We can no longer afford the luxury of constant divergence . . . *the time has come to make the Atlantic community a living force.*

(This is the last of a series on Europe the Battleground.)

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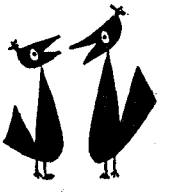

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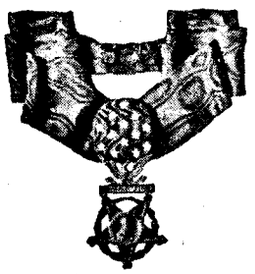
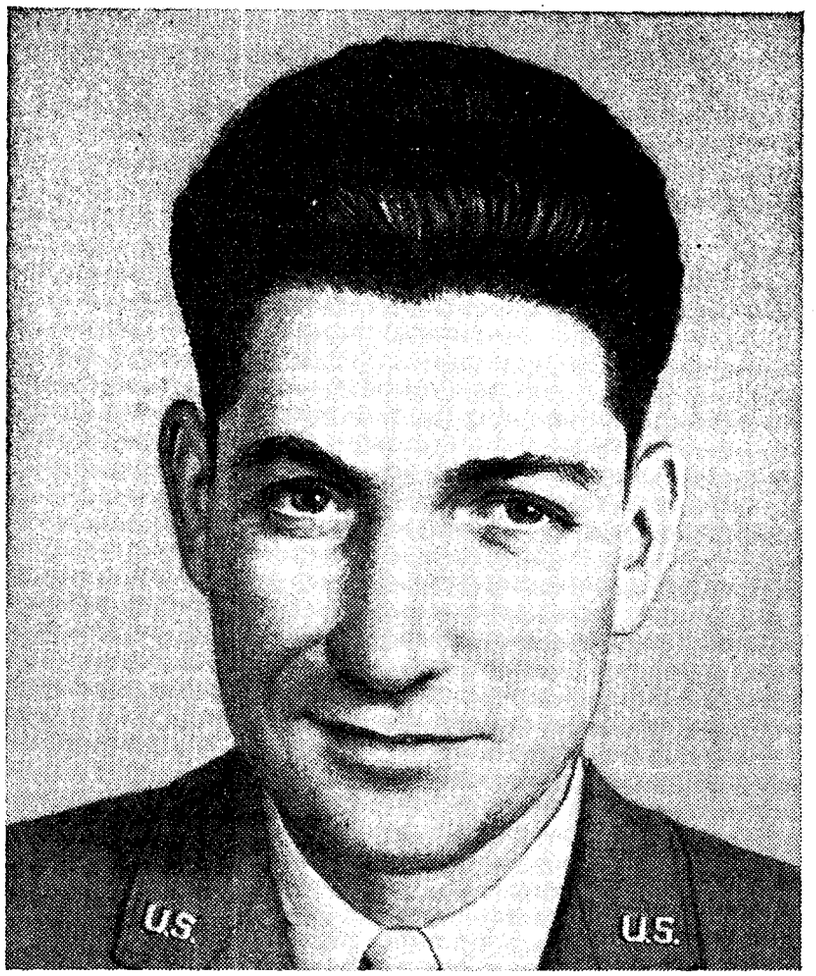
Medal of Honor





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